

MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

THE THIRD WAVE OF DEMOCRATIZATION IN INDONESIA

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Indonesia, the fourth most populated country in the world was among the last countries in Southeast Asia that embarked into democracy. Prior to democratization, the Indonesian military had played a significant socio-political role since the independence struggle against the Dutch. The revolutionary struggle shaped general Indonesian acceptance of the authoritarian rule. However, by 1997 Indonesia's authoritarian rule was faced with a serious problem of legitimacy and governability.

This thesis suggests that authoritarian rule cannot last in Indonesia. Socio-economic change has re-shaped its social structure and encouraged democratization. For half a century, authoritarianism was dominant in Indonesia, but like all dictatorships, Indonesia subsequently had to return to democracy. Pressures from within the authoritarian government and Indonesian society dictated the democratization process. However, the long term prospects for unstable democracy remain unclear.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Security and Civil-Military Relations)

KEYWORDS: Military Socio-Political Role, Civil-Military Relations, Socio-Economic Change and Democratization, New Democracy

POLISH ARMED FORCES OF 2000: DEMANDS AND CHANGES

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This thesis provides some recommendations for the professional improvement of the Polish Armed Forces while maintaining a conscript type of military. Much of the literature suggests that some countries transform their militaries into an all-volunteer force to achieve a better quality of military and to solve the problem of manpower as well as lack of society's acceptance. This thesis begins with the case studies of countries that have transitioned their militaries to an all-volunteer force e.g. the United States, Holland, and others. It also addresses a country that did not, Germany. The next part of this thesis examines the historical overview of the civil-military relationship in Poland, and focuses on the problems that Polish Army confronts today. First, analysis indicates that the countries that transitioned to an all-volunteer force did not achieve their goals; they still maintain their manpower shortages and lack of society's acceptance. Second, even if an all-volunteer force was achieved, Poland would not be able to economically maintain it. Based on this analysis, this thesis concludes that the Polish Armed Forces should maintain a conscript type of the military, while increasing the quality and professionalism of its staff, as indicated by the German Army.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Manpower, Personnel, and Training

KEYWORDS: Draft, All-Volunteer, Transformation, Modernization

**CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN
PAKISTAN AND MALAYSIA**

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The armed forces of Pakistan and Malaysia, after their independence, inherited many of the common characteristics of the British armed forces, including but not limited to the implicit acceptance of civilian supremacy. However, in the subsequent years, frequent coups in Pakistan (the latest being the military coup on October 12, 1999), and their absence in Malaysia has touched off a scholarly debate. This thesis examines the experiences of Pakistan and Malaysia respectively with regard to civil-military relations. Specifically, this study will focus on the causes of military intervention in the politics of Pakistan in contrast to that of Malaysia.

This thesis argues that the recurrent military interventions in Pakistan are mainly due to its weak political institutions, which led to its inability to govern effectively. Malaysia, on the other hand, has a bigger advantage over Pakistan in that it has relatively mature political institutions with strong leadership and political elites. In addition, civilian control of the military is fully entrenched in the Malaysian political system and culture.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Security, Civil-Military Relations)

KEYWORDS: Civil-Military Relations, Military Intervention, Professionalism, Legitimacy, Political Institutions, Military Institutions, Socio-Economic Conditions

THE ROLE OF THE TATMADAW IN MODERN DAY BURMA: AN ANALYSIS

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The *Tatmadaw* (Burmese Army) has dominated Burma's politics since the Japanese and British occupation of Burma until today. Its role in Burma has received international attention, especially while other countries in Southeast Asia have seen the decline of military power, the most recent that being Indonesia. The *Tatmadaw* seems unshaken with all the recent development affecting the military institution in Southeast Asia. This study is significant in that it attempts to understand how the *Tatmadaw* can continue to play an important role in the politics of Burma despite popular opposition. From this study, much will be learned about how Burma's military managed to sustain its rule. It also tries to provide an answer as to why the *Tatmadaw* has become what it is today.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Security and Civil-Military Relations)

KEYWORDS: Burmese Military, Coup d'etat, Authoritarian Rule, Repression and Burmese Socialism

KOSOVO - THE END OF THE BEGINNING, OR THE BEGINNING OF THE END? EFFECTS OF THE KOSOVO WAR ON NATO'S VIABILITY, U.S. COMMITMENTS TO NATO, AND EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION

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NATO's humanitarian intervention in Kosovo had a positive impact on long-term viability of the Alliance because it confirmed that NATO was able to redefine itself not only as the core of an enlarged and reshaped security community, but also as a suitable tool for crisis-management in the Euro-Atlantic region. Furthermore, the experiences of the humanitarian intervention demonstrated that the Alliance remains and should remain the central element of the European "security architecture."

The Kosovo War reaffirmed the United States' commitments to NATO, and reinforced the positions of the US in the new transatlantic bargain with its European NATO allies. Moreover, in spite of the emergence of the ESDI in NATO and the CFSP in EU, the U.S. remained one of the most crucial players in Europe, on which NATO's credibility is founded.

On the other hand, political and military experiences of the multilateral peace operation called attention to the importance of NATO's further internal and external adaptation. The above experiences gave new impetus to debates on a more appropriate future distribution of responsibilities, costs and risks among NATO allies; called for a more pragmatic division of labor between multiple institutions of the European "security architecture" (NATO, OSCE, WEU, EU), and raised new demands for revision and further improvement of basic principles of the ESDI and the CFSP.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Command, Control, and Communications, Electronics Warfare, Manpower, Personnel, and Training

KEYWORDS: Balkan, Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP), European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI), European Union (EU), Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the United States (U.S.); Western European Union (WEU)

CZECH-GERMAN SUDETEN RELATIONS: RECONCILIATION PROCESS BETWEEN TWO NATIONS

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This thesis focuses on the present relationship between the Czech Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany regarding the post-World War II transfer of Germans from Czechoslovakia to Germany. The new approach to this issue appeared after the fall of the communist regime in Czechoslovakia in 1989. The Sudeten German issue started to be openly discussed again, and both countries tried to solve this issue by negotiating and creating the Czech-German Declaration; however, this did not bring the reconciliation process to the end.

This thesis describes the common life of Czech and German nations within the Central European region since the thirteenth century and shows some important events of their common history. The thesis discusses the problem of nationalism, which started to increase from the beginning of the nineteenth century, and became a widespread political problem.

In 1998, both the German Chancellor Gerhard Schröder and Czech Prime Minister Miloš Zeman backed the 1997 declaration statement by agreeing their countries would not encumber their relations with the past. However, German opposition, as well as the Sudetendeutsche Landsmannschaft, opposed these statements and conditioned the European Union membership for the Czech Republic by solving Sudeten German issue which remains still unsettled.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Relations)

KEYWORDS: Czechoslovakia, Czech Republic, Federal Republic of Germany ,Nationalism, Sudeten German, Habsburg Empire, Velvet Revolution, European Union, Political Party, Elections

THE DEMOCRATIC CIVILIAN CONTROL OF THE MONGOLIAN ARMED FORCES: THE STATE IH HURAL

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This thesis analyzes the new civilian control mechanism of the Mongolian Armed Forces, focusing on the State Ih Hural (the Mongolian Parliament) and its defense-related committees, as well as the civilian Defense Minister. It identifies possible challenges to this mechanism. It will demonstrate that the legislative branch of the Mongolian government does not have sufficient defense expertise and information and there is an urgent need to establish a training system for civilian defense experts. It examines how the U.S. Congress participates in the defense decision-making process, and how it provides defense expertise and information for legislators. This thesis further suggests ways to improve the defense expertise and information for the Mongolian Parliament, its defense-related committees and the civilian Defense Minister in order to have an effective civilian control mechanism over the Mongolian Armed Forces.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (National Security Affairs)

KEYWORDS: Civilian Control, Defense Expertise and Information, Civilian Defense Expertise, U.S. Congress, Mongolian Parliament, Defense Committees

SECURITY-POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE BALTIC SEA REGION: AN ESTONIAN PERSPECTIVE

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Countries in Baltic Sea the region represent all combinations of political approaches to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the European Union, democracy, and a market economy. The region, hence, is a focal point and testing ground of problems and challenges for Europe to face in the 21st century as a whole. The success or failure of this region depends on the adequacy of foreign policy of each country in this key area.

A comprehensive analysis of key elements of foreign and security policy of ten countries in the region suggests that Estonia's foreign policy generally accords with the foreign policies of other countries in the region. Two minor disagreements concern the conditions of enlargement of the Alliance - with Finland - and policy towards Russia - with Germany. Discrepancies between the foreign policies of Estonia and Russia are fundamental. However, there is also some common ground. Taking into account the above-mentioned discrepancies, Estonia should continue to pursue its present course of policy and strategy.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Security)

KEYWORDS: Security Policy, NATO, European Union, Baltic Sea Region, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Germany, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Russia, Sweden

GENOCIDE IN RWANDA: TOWARDS A THEORETICAL APPROACH

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Before colonialism, the Rwandese lived together in harmony. They spoke the same language, shared the same culture and geographical territory, intermarried, and belonged to the same clans. Yet, in a period of less than three months in 1994, about one million Tutsi and moderate Hutu were killed by their Hutu neighbors in one of the most horrific genocides ever witnessed. This thesis reviews the definitions of ethnicity and theories of ethnic conflict in the literature. It critically examines how ethnicity was constructed in Rwanda, and how it became rigid, ranked, and polarized. The thesis also examines the roles and interests of the two major actors in the Rwandan genocide: the elite and the masses.

Although the ideology of the Rwandan genocide was propounded and popularized by the Hutu extremist elites, its intensity can be explained largely by analyzing the interests and fears of the masses, and why they responded to genocide ideology and elite incitement.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Security and Civil-Military Relations)

KEYWORDS: Genocide, Ethnic Conflict, Ethnic Groups, Rwandese, Elites, Masses, Extremists, Moderates, Ethnic Ranking, Dual Ethnicity, Cohabitation, Resources, and Rational

THE POLISH ROAD TO SECURITY AND STABILITY: CRUCIAL ROLE OF NATO MEMBERSHIP

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Faced at the outset with obstacles of the international system of states and of domestic politics, Poland embraced the tasks of accession to NATO. In this effort, no road map existed for what was an unprecedented situation. Thus, Poland had to resolve domestic and international tasks of accession with national means as well as guidance from the alliance and its members. Poland had to structure a new defense policy in an alliance context. The country had to reform the national security decision-making apparatus, which, in its most dramatic dimension, required the fashioning of democratic civil-military relations. The latter process, also, involved input from the domestic arena as well as those from the alliance members. This process took time as the alliance itself figured out the path forward and there were difficulties in Poland because of the possibility that Poland might fail. Nonetheless, these problems aside, Polish society and politics held sure to the sole aim of accession to NATO. This thesis argues that, with the successful accession to NATO, Poland secured its place in the West, which the events of the 20th century had denied this nation heretofore. Thus, Polish security rests on the stronger foundation, far greater than that possible with national means alone.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Security, Civil-Military Relations)

KEYWORDS: Poland, NATO Accession, Defense Policy, Civil-Military Relations

